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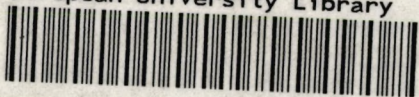
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'Regime Parties': A Case Study of  
Italian Christian Democracy**

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**EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE, FLORENCE**

**DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

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**The European Community and  
'Regime Parties': A Case Study of  
Italian Christian Democracy**

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## PREFACE

This paper was produced as part of a research project directed by John Gaffney on political parties and the European Community. It was prepared for presentation at a conference on 'Political Parties and the European Community' at Aston University 26-27 November 1993. A shortened and amended version will appear in John Gaffney (ed), *Political Parties and the European Community* (London, Routledge, forthcoming). The research for this paper was completed during the author's period as a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the European University Institute, Florence. The author thanks Peter Kennealy, Emir Lawless, Simon Hix and the EUI's library for their bibliographic assistance, and the University of Salford for financial assistance.



## INTRODUCTION

Between the 1950s and the early 1990s the Italian Christian Democratic Party (DC) proved to be one of the most successful parties in western Europe if viewed from the perspectives of electoral support and holding office. The party consistently obtained over a third of the vote and on three occasions over 40 per cent. It was the major party of every governing coalition and provided the Prime Minister for every government except two until 1992. The principal reason for this persistence in office was the peculiarity of the Italian party system, and specifically the perceived need to exclude from power the largest communist party in the west, the Italian Communist Party (PCI), which consistently obtained over a quarter of the vote and as high as a third. In this situation the DC, as the largest party, was compelled indefinitely to govern in coalition with allies from the centre and centre-left.<sup>1</sup> The DC's penetration and politicisation of the state as a result of this permanence in office has been well-documented: the party was a 'regime-party' *par excellence*.<sup>2</sup>

This point underlines the significance to Italy of the DC's approach to European integration compared with other Italian parties. The lack of alternation in government gave the party a monopoly over key ministries and consequently over policy-making. Foreign affairs were no exception. Indeed, they were one of the areas where DC hegemony was most complete because of the fact that the 'blocked' nature of the party system had an international dimension to it: the ideological cold war between East and West. Curiously, however, when one comes to analyse the DC's foreign policy in general and its views on the European Community (EC) in particular, one finds an effective absence of the first and a bland and unsophisticated - although unequivocally supportive - approach to the latter. This paper begins



with an explanation of this peculiarity because it is important to understanding the party's approach to Europe and its performance in the EC. The second section then analyses the party's official position in Europe, the developments in this position and internal divisions over the issue. The third section attempts to flesh out the DC's position by looking at the sources of its Europeanism. The fourth, fifth and sixth sections evaluate the DC's performance in Europe: firstly, in its role in the European Peoples Party (EPP) and the European Parliament (EP); secondly, in its role in Brussels as the main party of Italian government; and thirdly, in its action as the main party of government inside Italy. It is argued that the DC's Europeanism is flawed and that the nature of this 'flawed' Europeanism represents a fundamental dilemma for the party. The conclusion assesses the prospects for this dilemma being resolved through the changes which the Italian political system is currently undergoing.

## THE DC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

As argued above, the existence of a 'regime party' signifies the integration of party and state: a party's permanence in office makes it difficult to separate the policies of the party from those of the government, and invariably, it means that government policy is simply determined by the party. Yet, in the Italian case, while undoubtedly it has been difficult to separate the DC's foreign policy from that of the government, it has not been the case that Italy's foreign policy in the post-war period has been simply determined by the DC. On the contrary, the DC did not, until the 1980s, have proper organisational instruments for the conduct of foreign policy, and this was enhanced by a lack of interest in international affairs and a consequent absence of debate on foreign affairs inside the party. Institutional deficiency

and political apathy about foreign policy was not a characteristic unique to the DC, but was common to all of the parties, except the PCI.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, this was partly a reflection of the parlous state of Italian foreign-policy making itself, which was long-noted for its weaknesses, if not its virtual non-existence.<sup>4</sup> With no real independent objectives, foreign policy became dependent on the only two tangible symbols, NATO and the EC, and presence at high-level international meetings was regarded as more important than initiative-taking.<sup>5</sup> Variations in foreign policy depended less upon the DC or the government than on upon the preferences and (often uncoordinated) activities of various individuals: the Prime Minister, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, the minister for Overseas Trade and, at times, those (such as Enrico Mattei) in charge of the large state enterprises.

This resulted in what Antonio Pilati has described as a 'polycentric presence' of the DC in matters of Italian foreign policy.<sup>6</sup> The party's influence was felt in a fragmented way according to the individuals occupying the key ministries, and the interests at work inside the party and government. At the same time, this 'polycentric presence' could develop into a relationship of dependence by the party on those individuals according to the strength of their own commitments and the interests of the DC. One observer at the DC's 1980 Congress, for example, berating the party for its lack of foreign policy, concluded that 'The foreign policy of the Christian Democrats is organised by the Minister of Foreign Affairs; this is perhaps one of the most evident examples of the institutional integration of the DC'.<sup>7</sup> In other words, the expected power-flow of the party-state relationship was reversed; and where the DC, as a party, *did* express preferences, those preferences were determined more by internal needs than external considerations: the maintenance of consensus essential to its monopoly of power.

Under De Mita's leadership in the 1980s the DC attempted to centralise control and improve the co-ordination of foreign affairs inside the party (through the establishment of an International Affairs section and a European Affairs Office).<sup>8</sup> In 1984, the party, at its 16th. Congress, approved, for the first time in its history a substantial document embodying the DC's view of the world and its perception of its own role in it.<sup>9</sup> These changes were paralleled and enhanced by the emergence of a more active Italian foreign policy in the 1980s and the demands of a new wave of European integration.<sup>10</sup> The effects of these changes, however, were limited. The basic characteristic of the DC's post-war choice - a low-profile and underdeveloped foreign policy which would maintain the party's internal consensus and its monopoly over power - remained substantially unchanged. The party's approach to Europe should be understood in this context.

## THE DC'S APPROACH TO EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

### The Official Party Position

In the post-war period, the DC's approach to the European issue reflected, to a large extent, its apathy regarding foreign policy. Excepting the period under De Gasperi (whose Europeanism will be touched on below), the party showed little real interest in Europe. Party literature on the issue until the 1980s was virtually non-existent and the party showed no interest in developing new ideas in the area of Community policy.<sup>11</sup> Yet, this did not mean that the DC was *negative* about Europe. On the contrary, of all Italian parties the DC has been one of the most consistently pro-European. An analysis of the party's official position in the post-war period reveals constant support for the deepening of the integration process at the



economic and political levels during all the key decisions in the integration process: the creation of the European Economic Community (EEC) in the 1950s, direct elections to the EP in the 1970s and the moves toward economic and political union in the late 1980s and early 1990s.<sup>12</sup> The issue was never the cause of a major division inside the DC (although, as will be argued below, differences in emphasis can be noted) and the DC responded to the increasing importance in the 1980s of both the EC and Italy as actors on the international stage by placing itself in the vanguard of those supporting moves towards European union, as an analysis of its current position confirms.

At the economic level, the party is a strong supporter of the Single European Act (SEA) and the Maastricht Treaty, supporting the full opening of markets, including the capital market, greater integration of banking systems and creation of an economic and monetary union with a single currency by 1999. It is opposed to any notions of a 'two-speed' Europe.

At the social and regional level, the party believes in greater action in the social sphere to combat unemployment and is therefore fully supportive of the extensive social programme embodied in the Maastricht's effective creation of a European Social Community by eleven of the member states. It is also a strong believer in the idea of 'regional harmonization', and is concerned that the creation of a single market may exacerbate the existing North-South divide in Europe. It therefore fully supports article 130 of the SEA which commits member states to reducing the disparities between regions through the use of structural funds, and the new Cohesion Fund established by the Maastricht Treaty to help the poorer countries.

At the external level, the party supports the extension of Community competence into the area of foreign and security policy with implementing moves taken by majority vote. Finally, at the political-institutional level, the DC has long stressed the significance of political union embodied in the Treaties setting up the Community. Its view is that the slow progress made on the issue of political integration (compared with economic integration) is the result of inadequate institutional mechanisms, and that there is a real danger of a 'democratic deficit' arising from the transfer of powers from the nation-states to the Community level without a concomitant increase in democratic control at that level. The party believes that the Commission must have effective power to initiate and implement European policy and the Council must have decision-making powers free of the veto, meaning an extension of majority voting beyond the limited range of issues provided for in the SEA. Moreover, it believes that the EP must be the institution which retains overall democratic control, meaning an extension of its powers. The party therefore supports the powers granted to the EP by Maastricht to amend and veto certain Council acts, to scrutinize Community finances, to set up committees of inquiry to investigate alleged contraventions or maladministration, and to have the power of a vote of confidence over the Commission.

Overall, the DC is deeply critical of the inter-governmental method which has characterised the construction of the Community. Even the SEA (which was regarded by many as a milestone in the development of the Community) was judged by the DC to be a limited achievement, if not a mediocre product of the intergovernmental method. The party believes that member-states will be unable to work towards integration in a coherent and binding fashion in the absence of better institutional mechanisms and decision-making structures. The response of the DC to the revolutions in Eastern Europe (which had the effect

of temporarily calling into question the integration process), reflected its long-standing position on Europe. At a conference held in 1990 on international themes Franco Maria Malfatti, then head of the DC parliamentary leadership, argued that the new European order could not be conceived of as a new era which should dispense with the two most significant constructions of the post-war period, the Atlantic Alliance and the EC:

"The EC, first and foremost, has not been made superfluous by the new order, but rather finds in it further confirmation of its value. This is why an acceleration of the integration process is needed, transforming the Community of the twelve with maximum speed into economic and monetary union...rather than leaving European union as a vague objective with no specification of how and when it will be achieved."<sup>13</sup>

### **Changes and Internal Variations in the Official Party Position**

As argued earlier, open debate on foreign policy in the DC has rarely existed and interest in international affairs has been minimal. Nevertheless, behind the consensus differences - or at least nuances - in the DC's Europeanism have been identifiable, and they have accounted for changes in emphasis in the party's position at different times in the post-war period.

As already noted, the two pillars of the DC's post-war foreign policy were the Atlantic Alliance and the European Community. Which of these pillars received priority in the immediate post-war period is still the subject of historical research and debate. The conventional wisdom is that the DC, in the post-war period, was 'America's Party' because



the Atlantic Alliance was perceived to be the international cornerstone of the party's internal support. There was, in LaPalombara's words, 'an almost perfect symbiotic relationship between US international ambitions and a Christian democratic party's search for internal hegemonic power'.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, support for a united Europe was dependent on its compatibility with NATO, something which was not perceived to be a problem in the immediate post-war period.

Recent research has modified this thesis through a re-evaluation of the role of the post-war leader of the DC, Alcide De Gasperi. It has been argued that De Gasperi's priority was, in fact, the building of a European Community of nations and Italy's adhesion to the Atlantic alliance amounted to a surrogate for the preferred European alternative. De Gasperi's objective was to find a new power base for Italy since it was apparent that she would not recover her international position through the old order which had effectively disappeared. The objective was located within the broader context of west European countries needing to find a capacity for action which was independent from the USA and USSR, and he believed that the most effective new power base was a supranational Europe. Moreover, the solidarity of the Christian Democratic movement across Europe could ensure a leading role for the DC in the integration process, and help to boost its electoral support against its opponents.<sup>15</sup> This did not mean, however, that De Gasperi was negative about the Atlantic Alliance:

'The Atlantic Treaty appeared to De Gasperi as a sort of shell - provisional in an elastic way and for an indefinite time - within which the European embryo would develop. The necessary degree of development having been reached, the latter would finally free itself from the defence contingency, no longer

essential to the creation of European bodies, also of the military type.’<sup>16</sup>

De Gasperi was able to provide a coherence and force to the DC's foreign policy which was never matched thereafter. Under his control, and helped by the particular international environment, the DC's 'Atlanticism' and 'Europeanism' were made compatible. For his successors, the potential - and rising - incompatibility of the two ideas became the principle source of tensions over foreign policy inside the party. Once the Cold War had declined in significance in the 1960s, the question of European integration became primarily an economic, rather than political, issue. With the failure of the Centre-Left (based on the entry of the Socialist Party (PSI) into government) and the electoral rise of the PCI, there was a growing belief amongst many that the solutions to Italy's problems lay in rapid moves towards European unification, irrespective of the implications for the Atlantic alliance (supporters of this view were called *autonomisti* (autonomists)). This position was supported by large sectors of Italian industry. This was an anathema to the Atlanticists in the party for whom loyalty to America was a priority above all else, and who also identified dangers in a commitment to a Europe based on supranationalism which would, in all likelihood, be dominated by European parties of the left, and provide a further platform of influence for the PCI. The issue was further complicated by the emergence in the 1960s and 1970s of a 'Mediterranean' position in the party, primarily (but not entirely) from its traditional left. These members favoured closer collaboration with the Mediterranean and Third World states, which involved a distancing of the country from the Atlantic alliance and a more skeptical approach towards the idea of European federalism. Finally, the continued presence of federalists in the DC (strong in the immediate post-war period but declining thereafter)

completed the range of views inside the party. Consequently, the 1970s witnessed an unusual level of debate inside the DC in which some members of the right set up their own anti-federalist group, *Europa 70*.<sup>17</sup> The strength of the right and of Atlanticism was seen in the early 1970s when, under a centre-right government led by Andreotti and Malagodi, Italy abandoned the European 'monetary snake'.

The extent of division inside the party, however, should not be exaggerated. Firstly, the tone of the debate was never anti-European but rather revealed skepticism by a few about the creation of a European federal state. The prospect of the DC as a party opposing the basic principles of the European Community was never likely. Secondly, the debate was never aired prominently in public; its main public effect was to cause more incoherence and reticence in the party over foreign affairs, leaving policy to be made by the DC ministers in charge. Thirdly, and most importantly, by the 1970s the combination of a shift in the debate from political to economic issues, the modernisation of the Italian economy in the 1950s and its subsequent crisis in the 1970s resulted in support for Europe inside the party coming increasingly from those members who believed in carrying through economic reform, supported by the more progressive industrial interests. This identification of Europe with a more stable and equitable economy was to prove important and lasting. It meant that - although the 'balancing act' between 'Atlanticism' and 'Europeanism' always continued - when Italy developed, in the 1980s, a more independent foreign policy (i.e. more independent from the United States), the party's pro-European elements could become more vocal. The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the transformation of the PCI into a non-communist party of the left reduced further the importance of the Italo-American link and confirmed the party's basic pro-European stance, although (as will be argued later in this



paper), the party's Europeanism remains flawed by its inability to implement social and economic reform along the lines required by membership of a united Europe.

In short, despite apathy and lack of organisation in foreign affairs and the presence of some minor divisions over the issue, the DC's programmatic position on Europe in the post-war period has been unequivocally supportive. Explaining and identifying the exact nature of this Europeanism is best done through an analysis of its sources.

## **THE NATURE AND SOURCES OF THE DC'S EUROPEANISM**

The origins of the DC's Europeanism lie in six interrelated factors, the prominence of which have changed throughout the post-war period.

### **International Status and Power**

The EC has been viewed as an essential means of raising Italy's, and the DC's, international stature and power. The position of de Gasperi in the immediate post-war period has already been noted above. If, as recent research has suggested, a united Europe was de Gasperi's priority, the rationale behind it was clear: to raise Italy's status in the international community, bringing her back into the fold of established and influential nations of western Europe.

Even if, after De Gasperi, the DC never again had the same coherence in its European policy, the party's quest to lead a country with greater international status, influence and

power (which, in turn, would buttress the DC's own monopoly of power) has been ever present. As Maurizio Cotta notes, countries which already enjoy a high status in the international community stand to gain less from supranationalism than countries with a lower status: 'For the latter, joining a larger group may mean stepping at least indirectly (through the supranational union) into the 'big game' of international politics'.<sup>18</sup> Italy's ambiguous position (i.e. viewed as more significant than the small powers of Northern and Southern Europe but, at the same time, not regarded as a power ranking alongside Germany, Britain and France) has acted as an incentive for the DC to attempt to enter the 'big league' through promoting further integration. This, to a large extent, explains the desire on the part of Italian governments to be hyperactive during the periods when they hold the leadership of the Community (via the presidency). Indeed, Italian support for an acceleration of the integration process after the unification of Germany was primarily motivated by the fear that Germany would lose interest in the EC and disrupt the balance in Europe generally through its increased political and economic weight. Hence, the DC wanted to tie Germany into a politically and economically united Europe through which lesser countries such as Italy could continue to exert their influence.<sup>19</sup>

### **Internal Stability**

As a nascent democracy in the immediate post-war period the DC perceived the Italian republic as being unstable and facing the prospect of a long period of consolidation, with a risk of democratic breakdown. That risk was seen as emanating from two sources: first, internally, the existence of strong 'anti-system' extremes (particularly on the left in the form of the PCI), whose exclusion from government was regarded as a priority; and second, externally, the threat of communism in the East. A united Europe was seen as a way in which

Italy could be tied into a framework which would make the prospect of an internal communist transformation of Italy less tenable, at the same time as constituting a form of defence against communism in the East. It should be stressed, however, that - as with the question of international status - this reasoning was inseparable from the concern with the power and electoral strength of the party which was its first priority. Rightly or wrongly, the DC perceived - or claimed to perceive - the fate of Italy as bound up with its own, and this acted as an incentive for it to place the maintenance of its own power over all other considerations. If a united Europe aided the party's electoral struggle against the communist menace then it had to be supported at all costs.

### **Christian Democratic 'Doctrine'**

Supranationalism has been quite compatible with the DC's Christian doctrine which has generally always expressed hostility to the nation-state, particularly in the writings of the party's founder, Don Luigi Sturzo.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, many members of the DC became active in, or at least influenced by, the European Federalist Movement (founded in Milan in 1943), and the 1950s saw the party espousing clearly federalist ideals while being happy for its government to pursue a more pragmatic European line.<sup>21</sup> These federal ideals tended to become submerged in the 1960s and 1970s to more pragmatic needs, yet party members have not hesitated to resort to what they regard as the essential Europeanism of Christian Democratic thought to justify their party's credentials in Brussels.

### **Economic Factors**

From the 1960s onwards economic factors began to have an increasing influence in the European debate. The effect on the DC was primarily through the influence of different



interests, rather than on a simple cost-benefit calculation for Italy and the party of further integration. Despite the skepticism shown towards the idea of a united Europe by small industry and agriculture in the immediate post-war period, once Italy's 'economic miracle' was under way the economic importance of the newly-founded European Economic Community (EEC) became apparent, particularly to large sectors of industry, which had a growing influence inside the party. Being primarily export-driven, the economic miracle was given a major boost by the EEC's creation of a free trade zone, and the percentage of Italian goods exported to member-states rose from 23 per cent in 1955 to 29.8 per cent in 1960 and 40.2 per cent in 1965.<sup>22</sup> The visible gains for Italy were such that supporting further integration was natural for a party committed to free-trade.

### **The Inadequacies of Italian Policy-Making**

From the 1970s economic factors took on a political or policy-oriented dimension. The economic crisis of the 1970s exposed the inadequacies of the Italian political system and a policy-making process where institutional inefficiency, ideological conflict and the prevalence of distributive interests resulted in incoherent economic policies and a growing budget deficit, which the brief recovery in the 1980s did nothing to reverse. The EC and the economic commitments involved in further integration (particularly for European Monetary Union (EMU) to occur) were seen as a means by which harsh and unpopular economic measures could be legitimised and carried through. This became significant in the 1980s when real economic reforms were required to keep pace with other members of the EC. Giovanni Goria, for example, (the DC Prime Minister in 1987-88) stated openly that he welcomed the economic constraints of the EC as a means of overcoming powerful domestic interests' hostile to economic reform.<sup>23</sup> The prospect, otherwise, for the DC was to bear primary responsibility

for relegating Italy to Europe's 'slow lane'.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, this factor intertwines with the first factor (the loss of status and power) to create a daunting spectre which is used prominently in political debate.

### **Italian Public Opinion**

The reason why the spectre of relegation to Europe's 'slow lane' can be used so prominently is because of the popularity of the EC with the Italian people. As regular surveys of Eurobarometer and Doxa polls since the 1970s demonstrate, Italy has consistently been one of the nations most favourable to the EC both in the form of general support for the idea of the EC and specific support for increasing the power of European institutions such as the EP.<sup>25</sup> In the period since the Italian left (and particularly the PCI) began to shift its position on the EC the consensus has been a broad one: from the general public to the media, interest groups, political parties and parliamentarians. As David Hine has commented,

'If a major element of European integration is the creation of a domestic political climate supportive of integration, ...[Italy's]... record is almost unimpeachable. It is the one country in the European Community where governments feel a constant pressure from Parliamentary opinion to be more incisive and more committed to the integration process.'<sup>26</sup>

The DC, both in its role as a party in parliament and as the major party of government, has felt these pressures for support of the EC. Like other Italian parties, it has been aware that an anti-European stance is a potential - if not certain - vote loser.<sup>27</sup>

To summarise, the sources of the DC's apparently unqualified public commitment for European integration seem clear. Whether or not Europeanism has been part of a Christian Democratic ideal, it has certainly been influenced and shaped by the DC's monopoly of government. Europeanism has been an important element of the DC's nature as a 'regime party' and, at the same time, the party has been happy to let its specific policy developments in the European arena to be shaped by DC ministers and governments. This is not to suggest that the DC's Europeanism has been purely instrumental in nature. But it does beg an analysis of the party's actions in Europe. A party's Europeanism is not judged solely by its programmatic position but also by its *actions* at the European level. Have the DC's actions matched its apparent commitment to the European ideal? The next three sections will look at the DC in the EPP and the EP; the action of DC governments externally (in Brussels) to further the integration process; and the action of DC governments internally (in Italy) to further the integration process.

## **THE DC IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND EUROPEAN PEOPLES'S PARTY**

The DC is a member of both of the organisations which are the institutionalised expressions of the Christian Democratic movement in Europe: first, the European Union of Christian Democrats (EUCD), and second, the European People's Party: Federation of Christian Democratic Parties of the European Community (EPP). The EUCD encompasses Christian Democratic parties from all European countries, and was founded in 1965. It has 28 member parties as well as 11 with observer status. The EPP (of relevance to this paper) is a supranational party of the EC with a federal structure and with a grouping based in the EP.



It developed out of the EUCD as a federation of EC Christian Democratic parties in 1976. The grouping is the second largest in the EP and consists of all Christian Democratic parties of the member-states plus Greece's *Nea Demokratia* (which joined in 1983), Spain's *Partido Popular* (1991) and the British and Danish conservative parties (1992) (although the last two are not, as yet, members of the federation itself).<sup>28</sup>

Of the three EC federations, there is little doubt that the EPP has been the most strongly and consistently pro-European and active in the cause of furthering integration. Its Basic Programme states that 'the EPP calls for the gradual - but resolute - transformation of the European Community into a genuine political union on a federal model...' and that 'A federal Europe is now more than ever a necessary and realistic political objective'.<sup>29</sup> To reinforce this view the party produced at its VII Congress in 1988 a five year 'Action Programme' by which this goal could be achieved.<sup>30</sup> The party has also attempted to deepen the theoretical links between Christian Democracy and European integration.<sup>31</sup> Finally, of the three existing federations, the EPP is the most federally (or supranationally) organised, an institutionalised expression of its commitment to a federal Europe.<sup>32</sup>

The DC has been one of the most consistently active components of the EPP and the EPP (or CD) Group in the EP. The DC is currently the largest component of the parliamentary group (with 26 members), excepting the British Conservatives (who are not yet members of the federation). The DC component has been one of the strongest supporters of European integration in the EP with DC MEPs according priority to their role in the EC over national and local concerns.<sup>33</sup> The DC has also been active in attempting to mould a distinctive identity for the EPP which is perceived to be fundamental to the pursuit of

European union. The main conflict inside the EPP has been over its ideology and programme and the Italian component has been one of the principal protagonists in this conflict. The DC has consistently fought for a party whose Europeanism is founded on two principles, 'Christianity' and the 'social market economy'. This vision has tended to be restrictive towards European conservative parties with aspirations to join the EPP, an opening parties such as the German Christian Democrats (CDU-CSU) have always favoured. When the EPP was launched, for example, the DC wanted the word 'Christian' included in the title of the party which was opposed by the CDU-CSU for fear of alienating conservative parties (the party's sub-title, 'Federation of Christian Democratic Parties of the European Community', represents a form of compromise). In election manifestos the DC has always opposed the idea (dear to the Germans) of constructing an 'anti-socialist' bloc (partly because of its more progressive vision of the EPP but also because of the importance of the Italian Socialist Party to its continued permanence in office at the national level).<sup>34</sup> The DC opposed the adhesion of the Christian Democrats to the European Democratic Union (EDU), the conservative bloc launched in 1978, and subsequently opposed the entry of the British and Danish conservative parties to the EPP in the early 1990s, because of their opposition to a federal goal and their skepticism with regard to the idea of a social market economy.<sup>35</sup>

There are few tensions existing between the party in the EP and the party at the national level. Indeed, in all of the direct elections to the EP, the DC adhered to the election manifesto approved by successive EPP congresses (even though the subsequent campaigns, as in other countries, tended to be conducted according to national issues).<sup>36</sup> The party has used those manifestos as 'umbrella' platforms within which to develop election manifestos for national elections. Moreover, it adopted the EPP's Action Programme (see above) as its



own. Links between the national party and the EPP are provided by representation by Italian members of the EPP in the organs of the DC (there are no formal links between the DC national parliamentary group and the EPP Group in the EP). The head of the delegation of the DC in the EP has formal speaking and consultative rights in the DC's Executive (which also engages in close political cooperation with the European Affairs Section of the Italian delegation in the EPP Group). A percentage of MEPs (in 1986, for example, 5 out of 27) have the same rights in the party's National Council. At the party's National Congress MEPs can be given guest status which is equivalent to that of national deputies and gives them speaking rights. EPP Group members who are members of a provincial party association have consultative rights on the DC's Provincial Committee, and those who are members of a regional party association enjoy similar rights on the party's Regional Committee and Regional Executive. Finally, all EPP Group members have speaking rights at the Regional Congress for the election of delegates to the National Congress.<sup>37</sup>

How effective these formal mechanisms are in representing the European level in the decision-making processes of the DC is open to question. Generally speaking, the national level is predominant in European affairs, even in the selection of candidates for European elections and the development of electoral platforms, but this is not to say that there is no input of any significance from the European level (the role of the EPP in the development of election manifestos has already been noted). Paradoxically, however, the influence that Italian members of the EPP might wield nationally depends less on their prominence at the European level than on their position in the national party, and specifically on the faction to which they belong.



## THE DC AND EXTERNAL GOVERNMENT ACTION TO FURTHER EUROPEAN UNITY

Sergio Pistone argues that the European policies of successive Italian governments, nearly all of which have been directed by DC Ministers and received unequivocal support from the party itself, have been shaped by four tendencies which display more federalist traits than the European policies of any other member government during the post-war period:<sup>38</sup>

-first, the preference for a 'global' form of integration incorporating political, military and economic aspects;

-second, the insistence on a strict link between 'positive' and 'negative' economic integration i.e. that economic integration should not occur solely through the removal of obstacles to the operation of a free market but also through the progressive unification of national economic policies and remedial action on the regional distortions created by the operation of a free market;

-third, support for the principle of the direct election of the European Parliament (EP) and a strengthening of its powers in the aim of a general democratisation of the institutions of the EC;

-fourth, a preference for the participation of all forces and institutions in questions of European integration (rather than depending on the whims of intergovernmentalism), this with the aim of realising a European constitution of a federal nature.

These four traits are best summed up in two quotations. The first is the statement made in 1969 by Mariano Rumor (the DC Prime Minister and leader of the party 1964-68):

Colombo faithfully implemented industry's interests; his primary concern in formulating the first Community package on agricultural measures was to avoid any deadlock. The Italian delegation in Brussels came without a forceful or coherent strategy for Italian agriculture and was quick to sacrifice the interests of one sector of the economy for the apparent interest of the economy as a whole. Podbielski has noted that 'Italian negotiators were known in Community circles to have frequently put up a weak defence of the Italian point of view, to have adopted decisions too readily and uncritically and to have made concessions too quickly.'<sup>43</sup> The CAP that was subsequently forged favoured (through its price-fixing mechanisms) support for Northern European type-products (grain, meat, milk, butter and sugar) to the neglect of those produced in Southern Europe such as Italy (wine, fruit, vegetables, olives and tobacco). Moreover, even when price support for so-called 'Mediterranean' products was later introduced, it was at a much lower level than those established for the first group of products.<sup>44</sup> The negative impact on Italian agriculture, and specifically to agriculture in the south of Italy (the *Mezzogiorno*) was considerable and long-term. Indeed, it helped maintain the disparities between the North and the South of Italy and between the latter and the other member states of the Community.<sup>45</sup>

The 1980s saw a marked change in the levels of Italian governments' European activism. With Italy's image abroad undergoing a considerable improvement Italian governments became more willing to take a proactive role. This is perhaps best illustrated in the DC's handling of Italy's hosting of the EC presidency in 1985 and 1990. The six month rotating presidency can (depending on the particular state of the integration process) provide individual countries with the opportunity to display their enthusiasm for European unification through their position in the Community driving seat. The Italian presidencies of 1985 and

'The essential core of Italian foreign policy is and remains European union'<sup>39</sup>; the second is by an Italian diplomat in describing the Italian government's approach to the Maastricht Treaty: "We are saying yes to more or less everything."<sup>40</sup> There is, however, an important difference in these two quotations which needs to be highlighted. The latter quotation suggests a pro-European stance which is more reactive than proactive and, in fact, aptly catches the attitude of successive Italian governments (at least until the mid-1980s). It underlines the fact that the DC (as the dominant party of government) has failed to impose any sort of coherence in Italian European policy and that its 'polycentric presence' in foreign affairs has (when combined with the dominance of certain economic interests inside the party and the high levels of inefficiency in the state bureaucracy) inhibited the development of an Italian presence at the European level which has been able to match that of France and Germany.<sup>41</sup> This can be explained by the lack of proper foreign policy instruments in the DC, by the incoherence in DC policy produced by the attempt to support two ideas (Atlanticism and Europeanism) which were not always compatible and on which the party was not fully united and by the difficulties the DC has faced in exerting influence when, for a long time, the party was viewed by others as representing the 'sick man of Europe'.<sup>42</sup>

The effects of this negligence have at times been damaging to Italy's economy and thus to the longer-term needs of the integration process. Perhaps the most striking example of this deficiency was in the negotiations over the setting up of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in the 1960s. The lengthy negotiations were managed by the DC under the leadership of Emilio Colombo. The party was, in these years, considerably influenced by Italian industry and its view that European integration represented a bonus *tout court* for the Italian economy and that the momentum already achieved should be maintained at all costs.



1990 saw considerable activism on the part of Italian governments which was uncharacteristic for a country with a reputation for a low-profile foreign policy. Both presidencies saw the launching of intergovernmental conferences (IGCs) of considerable importance to the integration process.<sup>46</sup> In particular, Italy has its place in the history books for having used its 1985 Presidency, in the face of strong opposition from Britain, Denmark and France, to force a vote on the issue of an IGC to consider amendments to the Treaty of Rome (the first ever use of a vote at a European Council meeting), from which emanated the Single European Act (SEA). Significantly, the origins of that initiative lay partly in domestic political competition, specifically over the European credentials of the Christian Democrat and Socialist parties. The Socialist Prime Minister, Bettino Craxi, and the Christian Democrat Foreign Minister, Giulio Andreotti, sought to match each others' achievements in the European arena, knowing the electoral benefits that would likely follow, and this is an important factor in explaining the determination of the Italians to force a vote on the issue of the IGC.<sup>47</sup>

Nevertheless, the new Italian activism at the European level has not been without criticism. The persistent forwarding of 'maximalist' positions has been viewed as lacking in realism and too often insufficiently backed up with measures at the concrete level. This is most visibly the case with respect to governmental action *inside* Italy, an issue which will now be explored.

## THE DC AND INTERNAL GOVERNMENT ACTION TO FURTHER EUROPEAN UNITY

David Hine has pointed out that, as the integration process deepens, it is no longer sufficient for parties, governments or countries to claim and extol their European credentials simply through initiatives and action in Brussels to further European unity:

'European integration has now reached a level that requires that domestic policy and domestic legislative programmes are adjusted to Community policies on a very broad front. Increasingly, European integration requires a measurable internal commitment from national governments and legislatures. Awareness of the demands of integration must also penetrate throughout each country's system of public administration.'<sup>48</sup>

In other words, there is an internal, domestic dimension to pro-European action, which, if absent, can undermine the putative European credentials of a country's external, supra-national initiatives. There are, broadly speaking, two aspects to this domestic dimension, the political-legal aspect and the political-economic aspect.

The first aspect refers to the need for countries to ensure that Community law is implemented in their territories through translating EC directives at the EC level into national law and through compliance with the decisions of the European Court of Justice. The EC's drive towards the achievement of the 1992 internal-market programme since the passing of the SEA highlighted the importance of this aspect. Yet, Italy's record on both counts is extremely poor, indeed, one of the poorest across the member-states.<sup>49</sup> The second aspect refers to the need for countries to adjust their economic and budgetary policies to the needs of the Community such that convergence of the economies of the member-states can occur,

a prerequisite to economic and political union. The importance of this was highlighted with the formal moves taken by the EC to achieve economic union, with the formulation in the Maastricht Treaty of tough convergence criteria for membership. Italy passes only one of the five criteria, the most alarming of which for the country is the stipulation that budget deficits should be no more than 3% of GDP for convergence to occur (Italy's is nearer ten per cent).<sup>50</sup> Despite the fact that the need for action was evident long before Maastricht, successive governments took no serious measures until after the elections of April 1992, since when the Amato and Ciampi governments (the latter headed by the ex-Governor of the Bank of Italy) have attempted to reverse the trend. As Antonio Giolitti has noted:

'even though the Community was and still seems to be an essential foreign policy option for Italy, its governments hesitate to draw the consequences in terms of economic policy...rather than make a serious effort to overcome the divergences and its inferiority, Italy has sought recognition of [Community solidarity towards the "less affluent" countries] and compensation in the form of exonerations, exceptions, aid (or, if necessary, by defaulting and not living up to its commitments).'<sup>51</sup>

It might be added that, as noted earlier, the country has come to rely on the EC imposing discipline where its policy-makers cannot as the need for action has become more urgent. Certainly, serious measures will be required during the 1990s to bring the most alarming indicators of divergence in line with the Community average if Italy is to take part in EMU.<sup>52</sup>



The DC's failure to adapt Italy's political, economic and legal structures to the demands of the integration process calls into question its European credentials and causes skepticism about the sincerity of its commitment amongst its allies. Can the proposals of one of the strongest proponents of EMU and political union be taken seriously when Italy's economic and political system is a significant stumbling block to the achievement of these goals? A response to this question might be that it is erroneous to identify the lack of concrete action in these fields with only one political party: the DC. Raising this point reintroduces the importance of 'regime parties' with which this paper began.

The issue is more profound and complex than simply assigning responsibility for Italy's failures on the European front to the party which has dominated Italian government and policy-making in the post-war period. As indicated at the beginning of this paper it is not the case that Italian foreign policy has simply been determined by the DC. 'Regime parties', particularly those which are present from the birth of a regime, are significant in the way in which they shape the political and economic system, and it is this perspective which is most relevant to the argument here. The DC's hold on power in the face of a strong delegitimised communist opposition, and thus the absence of genuine alternation in government, gave the political and economic system its essential characteristics: unstable governments but a failure to renew the political and administrative class, the politicisation of the state, the 'sharing out' (*lottizzazione*) of the top ministerial posts, the clientelistic use of state agencies located outside the parliamentary system of government, and the 'immobilism' of successive governments in key policy areas such as health, welfare, education, the South and reforms of the state. A bloated, inefficient and (often) corrupt state distributed economic resources

according to political rather than economic criteria and the greater the level of distortions in the system the stronger vested interests became in its maintenance.<sup>53</sup>

To be sure, the DC was not the only party which enjoyed the fruits of this system, and nor can other factors (such as the inhibiting nature of the legalistic tradition of the administration<sup>54</sup>) be overlooked in evaluating Italy's chronic inability to bring its economic and political structures up to the EC average. Nevertheless, the fact remains that, more than anything else, it is the 'centrality' of the DC which has been at the heart of the system's problems to meet the demands of European integration and, therefore, the DC's removal from power is the main solution. This points to a dilemma at work in the DC's Europeanism. To become a truly pro-European which acts in government in a way which matches its initiatives and the activity of its representatives in Brussels, the party needs to reform itself and the system which it has fashioned; yet, the achievement of both of these is not possible without the DC relinquishing power. Neither the party nor the political system can undergo genuine reform without the party first extracting itself from the state and going into a period of opposition. This explains why the failure to achieve this reform has been primarily due to the resistance of large sectors of the party. From this perspective the DC's Europeanism must be regarded as deeply flawed.

The DC's dilemma points to a deep paradox at work in its Europeanism. It was argued earlier that the DC's Europeanism in the post-war period was an important element in the party's monopoly of power. It can now be seen that that the type of Europeanism essential to its dominance was 'flawed' and that the transition from 'flawed' to 'genuine' Europeanism involves a concomitant transition for the party from government to opposition. This paradox



is seen most clearly in the European strategy pursued by the last DC-led government (April 1991 - June 1992 under Andreotti). Andreotti's policy aimed at achieving a deepening of the integration process which would give Italy (and thus the DC) more influence in (an increasingly federal) Europe, at the same time as anchoring the country to Northern Europe, specifically through the influence of the Franco-German axis in the EC. Andreotti viewed, therefore, any faltering in the integration process which raised the prospect of a looser structure of a united Europe as a threat (hence the government's disillusionment with the Danish referendum's rejection of the Maastricht Treaty in 1992). Yet, this strategy was also predicated on the assumption that anchoring Italy securely within a federated Europe would result in a painless compliance of the country itself with the requirements of closer integration. The strategy also assumed that Italy was essential to the achievement of political and economic union. The debate in the late 1980s and early 1990s on the prospects of a 'two speed' Europe, the currency crisis of the Autumn 1992 which resulted in the exit of the lira from the EMS, shattered the latter assumption.<sup>55</sup> The continued procrastination of DC-led governments, furthermore, showed that Italy was unlikely to achieve the political and economic modernisation essential to reaching the Community average without the removal from power of the 'regime-party' itself. The DC, in other words, was revealed to be hoist on its own European petard.

## CONCLUSION: 'FLAWED' EUROPEANISM AND ITS FUTURE

If, as this paper has argued, the DC's 'flawed Europeanism' has been a product of its nature and development as a 'regime-party', then a shift from flawed to genuine Europeanism may



not be long in forthcoming. The past two years have witnessed unprecedented changes in Italian politics as a result of the transformation of the PCI into a non-communist party of the left and the exposure of a systematic network of corruption practised by Italian political parties, and particularly the DC. These changes have resulted in the demise of the DC regime and an attempt by the party to change itself fundamentally (even to the point of abandoning its name and returning to its predecessor's name, the Italian Popular Party, PPI).<sup>56</sup> Whether the changes to both the state and the party will be completely carried through or whether a large part of their reforming element will be absorbed by the DC and other members of the political elite remains open to question. But the prospect of the DC losing office after the next election is a real one, and, if this were to happen, the party would be, for the first time in the post-war period, free - or forced - to develop its Europeanism as a party of opposition rather than as a 'permanent' party of government. While this should not result in any change at the official and rhetorical level in its enthusiasm and support for European union, the party will nevertheless be freed of responsibility for its lack of concrete action in various areas to further the cause of a united Europe; and a subsequent return to office without its 'regime-party' status could complete the change from flawed to genuine Europeanism.

## NOTES

1. See Paolo Farneti, *The Italian Party System* (London: Pinter, 1985).

2. It was not, of course, only this, but this aspect is the most important from the perspective of this paper. For a good introduction in English to Italian Christian Democracy see Robert Leonardi and Douglas A. Wertman, *Italian Christian Democracy. The Politics of Dominance* (London, Macmillan, 1989).

3. See Antonio Tizzano, 'Forze politiche italiane e collegamenti europei nella prospettiva della elezione del parlamento Europeo', in Centro Nazionale di Prevenzione e Difesa Sociale, *Parlamento Europeo, Forze politiche e diritti dei cittadini* (Milan, Franco Angeli, 1979), pp.80-2.

4. See the summary of views in Joseph LaPalombara, 'Politica estera italiana. Immobilismo al tramonto', *Relazione Internazionali*, 1989/September, pp.98-9.

5. Marco Rimanelli, 'From Ashes to Renewal: Post-War Italian Foreign Policy', *Italian Journal*, Vol. III, No.4, 1989.

6. Antonio Pilati, 'Obiettivi e vincoli dei partiti sulla scena internazionale', *Politica Internazionale*, No.2, February 1982, pp. 82-83. For the most recent and extensive account of Italian foreign policy see Carlo M. Santoro, *La politica estera di una media potenza. L'Italia dall'unità agli anni ottanta* (Bologna: Mulino, 1991).

7. Gianni Baget-Bozzo, 'Al Congresso della Dc: politica estera come riflesso', *International Spectator*, nos. 3-4, March-April, 1980, p.141.

8. On these reforms see Cecilia Orfei, 'Gli strumenti della politica estera dei partiti', *Politica Internazionale*, No.3, May 1983, pp.122-23.

9. See Arturo Gismondi, 'La politica estera democristiana: Cee, Nato e tanto pragmatismo', *Politica Internazionale*, No.5, May, 1986, pp.19-20.

10. For general overviews of the emergence of a more active foreign policy see Joseph LaPalombara, 'Politica estera italiana...', *op.cit.*, and Roberto Aliboni, 'Italy and the New International Context: An Emerging Foreign Policy Profile', *International Spectator*, Vol. XX, No.1, Jan.-March 1985.

11. As noted by Geoffrey Pridham in his review of party and other literature in 1980, 'Concepts of Italy's approach to the European Community', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. XIX, No. 1., September 1980, p.81.

12. Amongst the more useful documentary sources are: Andrea Damilano (ed), *Atti e documenti della Democrazia Cristiana 1943-1967* (Roma, Edizioni Cinque Lune, 1968), 2 vols.; Sergio Pistone, *L'Italia e l'unità europea. Dalle premesse storiche all'elezione del Parlamento europeo* (Torino, Loescher, 1982); Sergio Pistone, 'Italian Pressure Groups and Political Parties in the Discussion on European Union', in Walter Lipgens and Wilfried Loth

(eds), *Documents on the History of European Integration. Volume 3: The Struggle for European Union by Political Parties and Pressure Groups in Western European Countries 1945-1950* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1988); and European Parliament Directorate General For Research, *Research and Documentation Papers. Political Parties in the EC and European Unification*, Political Series no. 14, 10-1988 (Luxembourg, European Parliament, 1988). *Il Popolo* (the party daily) has consistently reflected the party line, and is usefully documented in Flavio Spalla, *La Stampa quotidiana e l'integrazione europea* (Genova, E.C.I.G., 1985). The author concludes that *Il Popolo* is the only daily to have consistently supported European integration which he puts down to the role the newspaper has played in legitimising the DC's - and effectively Italy's - foreign policy (p.133). Finally, the official history of the DC, F. Malgeri (ed), *Storia della Democrazia Cristiana* (Rome, Cinque Lune, 1978-1989), 5 vols., is rich in sources, and Richard Walker, *Dal confronto al consenso. I partiti politici italiani e L'integrazione europea* (Rome, Istituto Affari Internazionali, 1976), provides a general account of the evolution of all the Italian parties' positions in the period until the mid-1970s.

13. Franco Maria Malfatti, 'Un convegno della Dc sui temi internazionali. Nato e Cee vivono oltre la perestrojka', *Il Sole 24 Ore*, 16 March 1990. See also Giulio Andreotti, 'Il ruolo dell'Italia nell'integrazione europea', *L'Italia e L'Europa*, 28-29/1991 (Andreotti was, until the early 1990s, a key figure in shaping the DC's post-war foreign policy).

14. J. LaPalombara, 'Politica estera italiana...', *op.cit.*, p.98.

15. See Severino Galante, 'In Search of Lost Power. The International Policies of the Italian Christian Democrat and Communist Parties in the Fifties', and Simona Colarizi, 'The Italian Political Parties and Foreign Policy in the 1950s', both in Ennio di Nolfo (ed), *Power in Europe? The Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy and the Origins of the EEC, 1952-1957* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992).

16. Severino Galante, 'In Search of Lost Power...', *op.cit.*, p.410.

17. The debate on federalism in the DC in this period can be seen in the party journal *La Discussione*.

18. Maurizio Cotta, 'European Integration and the Italian Political System', in Francesco Francioni (ed), *Italy and EC Membership Evaluated* (London, Pinter, 1992), p. 208.

19. See Philip Daniels, 'L'Italia e il trattato di Maastricht', in Stephen Hellman and Gianfranco Pasquino (eds), *Politica in Italia. I fatti dell'anno e le interpretazioni. Edizione 93* (Bologna, Mulino, 1993), p.201.

20. For a summary of Social-Christian political thought on Europe see Andrea Chiti-Batelli, 'Guido allo studio dell'unificazione europea. Bibliografia ragionata', *L'Italia e L'Europa*, Anno VIII, nos. 20-21, Dec. 1981, part I ('Cristiano-Sociali'). The modern DC still makes reference to the influence of Sturzo in guiding its foreign policy (see, for example, Giampaolo Calchi Novati's interview with the then leader of the party, Ciriaco De Mita, 'Le scelte coerenti della Dc nel rispetto delle alleanze internazionali; intervista a Ciriaco De Mita', *Politica Internazionale*, No.5, maggio 1986, esp. p.16).



21. For an analysis of the influence of the federalist movement in Italy see Sergio Pistone, 'L'Italia e l'integrazione europea', *L'Italia e Europa*, 28-29/1991.
22. Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy. Society and Politics 1943-1988* (London: Penguin, 1990), p.214.
23. Philip Daniels, David Hine and M. Neri Gualdesi, 'Italy, the European Community and the 1990 Presidency: Policy Trends and Policy Performance', *Centre for Mediterranean Studies Occasional Paper No. 3*, University of Bristol, June 1991, p. 16.
24. Maurizio Cotta, 'European Integration and the Italian Political System', *op. cit.*, pp.211-12. The importance of new measures to prevent Italy falling behind its partners is most clearly revealed in the annual reports of the Governor of the Bank of Italy (see, for example, Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, 'Italy's Economy and its Role in the Europe of 1993. Urgent Measures Required', *Italian Journal*, Vol. 5, Nos. 3 & 4, 1991, which is an excerpt from Ciampi's 1991 report).
25. For a useful summary see Douglas A. Wertman, 'Italian Attitudes on Foreign policy Issues: Are There Generational Differences?', in Stephen F. Szabo (ed), *The Successor Generation: International Perspectives of Postwar Europeans* (London, Butterworths, 1983), esp. section 5.6 ('Attitudes toward European integration and patriotism').
26. David Hine, 'Italy and Europe: the Italian presidency and the domestic management of the European Community', in Robert Leonardi and Fausto Anderlini (eds), *Italian Politics. A Review*, Vol. 6 (London, Pinter, 1992), p.53.
27. On the emergence of a consensus amongst the parties on Europe see Richard Walker, *Dal confronto al consenso*, *op. cit.*, Specifically on the shift in position of the second largest party, the PCI, which created the bedrock of the consensus, see S. Galante, *Il Partito comunista italiano e l'integrazione europea* (Padua, Liviana Editrice, 1988).
28. For a general analysis of the federations and EP groupings see Simon Hix, 'The European Federations: from Transnational Party Cooperation to Nascent European Parties', in John Gaffney (ed), *Political Parties and the European Community* (London, Routledge, forthcoming); and Francis Jacobs, Richard Cobbett and Michael Shackleton, *The European Parliament* (Harlow, Longman, 1992), 2nd. edition, ch. 5. For a succinct summary of the EUCD and EPP see 'Report of the Secretary General of the EPP / EUCD EPP-Political Bureau / Council EUCD, Joint Meeting Brussels, 14 January 1993' (EPP Documentation - mimeo). The official EPP handbook is also a useful source of information (*Handbook of the European People's party (CD-Group) of the European Parliament* (Luxembourg, The Group of the European People's Party (CD Group) of the European Parliament, 1986). For an in depth analysis of its first five years, see European People's Party, *Europe: The Challenge. The principles, achievements and objectives of the EPP Group from 1979 to 1984* (Luxembourg, EPP Group (CD Group) of the European Parliament, 1983).
29. 'Basic Programme of the European People's Party adopted by the IXth EPP Congress Athens, 11 - 13 November 1992, Version of 5 February 1993', EPP Documentation DOC\_EN\DV\222\222009 - mimeo, p.7.

30. European People's Party, *On the People's side. Action Programme 1989-1994*, VIIIth EPP Congress, Luxembourg 1988, Documentation 8 - European People's Party (Brussels, EPP-Group of the European Parliament, 1989).

31. See, for example, Clay Clemens, 'Christian Democracy: The Different Dimensions of a Modern Movement', *Occasional Papers*, No. 1 (Brussels, Parliamentary Group of the European People's Party, 1989); and European People's Party, 'Efforts to define a Christian Democratic "Doctrine"', *Occasional Papers*, No. 2 (Brussels, Parliamentary Group of the European People's Party, 1989).

32. See 'Statuto del Partito Popolare Europea approvata dal 'VIII Congresso PPE, 14 - 16 novembre 1990, Dublino (marzo 1993)', EPP Documentation - mimeo.

33. See, for example, the survey by Luciano Bardi, *Il Parlamento della Comunità europea. Legittimità e riforma* (Bologna, Il Mulino, 1989), which found the DC to be the fourth most pro-European out of the twelve major parties in Germany, France, Italy and Britain. (p.98). The DC's position is paralleled by high figures for the Italian parties as a whole (see p.92).

34. See Hix, 'The European Federations', *op. cit.*

35. The long drawn out negotiations over the entry of the British and Danish conservatives into the EPP is detailed in *Agence Europe* between 1990 and April 1992. The EPP Group finally voted to accept them (32 British and 2 Danes) by 72 votes to 36 with two abstentions (*Ibid.*, 7 April 1992)

36. On the last two electoral campaigns see Geoffrey Pridham, 'Italy', in Juliet Lodge (ed), *Direct Elections to the European Parliament 1984* (London, Macmillan, 1986); and Philip Daniels, 'Italy', in Juliet Lodge (ed), *The European Parliamentary Elections of 1989* (London, Macmillan, 1989).

37. See *Handbook of the European People's Party (CD-Group) of the European Parliament*, *op. cit.*, p.329 and 347-8.

38. Sergio Pistone, 'L'Italia e l'integrazione europea', *op. cit.*, pp.179-82.

39. Quoted in Luigi Vittorio Ferraris, 'Italian-European foreign policy', in F. Francioni (ed) *Italy and EC Membership Evaluated*, *op. cit.*, p.131.

40. Quoted in Ed Vulliamy, 'Union will strip window dressing off an economy', *The Guardian*, 29 November 1991.

41. This is noticeable in general analyses of the Community which have, as Alberta Sbragia, has noted, tended to overlook the role played by Italy in contrast with Britain, France and Germany. ('Italia/CEE. Un partner sottovalutato', *Relazioni Internazionali*, 1992/Giugno, p.79). Clearly, however minor a role Italy has played, it is worthy of analysis by students of the EC, as the quality of the first two volumes of *Power in Europe*, *op.cit.*, on the early period, testify.



42. For example, in his analysis of Italy and the EC in the 1970s, Bino Olivi argues that the DC became painfully aware of the progressive loss of credibility of the party at the European level as a consequence of the profound crisis the Italian regime was undergoing, and that the party's profile in the main European institutions rarely matched the level of its official enthusiasm ('L'Italia nella Cee degli anni '70 - problemi e prospettivi', in Natalino Ronzitti (ed), Istituto Affari Internazionali, *La politica estera italiana. Autonomia, interdipendenza, integrazione e sicurezza* (Varese, Edizioni di Comunità (Istituto Affari Internazionali), 1977), p.205).

43. Gisele Podbielski, 'The Common Agricultural Policy and the Mezzogiorno', *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. XIX, No. 4, June 1981, p.348. See also R. Galli and S. Torcasio, *La partecipazione italiana alla politica agraria comunitaria* (Bologna, Mulino, 1976), esp. pp.21-45. Richard Walker notes that 'The line adopted by the Christian Democrats and the Italian government in the agricultural negotiations was clearly determined by the reciprocal action of economic interests in the party.' (*Dal confronto al consenso*, op.cit., p.61). An in-depth analysis has yet to be done of what many regard as a lack of foresight on the part of the Italian negotiators and others as a 'sell out' of Italian agriculture to the interests of industry.

44. See the analysis in Massimo Roccas, 'Italy', in Dudley Seers and Constantine Vaitsos (eds), *Integration and Unequal Development. The Experience of the EEC* (London, Macmillan, 1980), esp. pp.109-11. Ginsborg notes that every year the member countries of the EEC, through the European Agricultural Guarantee and Guidance Fund (EAGGF), spend \$700 for every Dutch farmer, \$330 for every French, \$220 for every German and only \$70 for every Italian farmer, with olive oil the only product receiving subsidization on a scale comparable to that accorded to North European type-products (*A History of Contemporary Italy*, p.233).

45. See Podbielski, 'The Common Agricultural Policy and the Mezzogiorno', op.cit.

46. For an account of the presidencies see Daniels, Hine and Gualdesi, 'Italy, the European Community and the 1990 Presidency...', op. cit.

47. See *ibid.*, pp.3-4, and Patrick Keating and Anna Murphy, 'The European Council's Ad Hoc Committee on Institutional Affairs (1984-85)', in Roy Pryce (ed), *The Dynamics of European Union* (London, Croom Helm, 1992), pp.232-3.

48. Hine, 'Italy and Europe...', op.cit., pp.52-3.

49. Hines's analysis found that Italy had (in late 1990) the lowest figures for implementation of the internal market programme, and the highest number of infringement proceedings against it for failure to comply with Community law (*ibid.*, pp.54-5).

50. By 1991 Italy had more outstanding debt than any country in the world except Japan and the United States. It was the biggest borrower in the EC and its ratio of outstanding debt to GDP was roughly double the average of the other eleven countries. It was also the only country where the debt was growing faster than the economy itself.



51. Antonio Giolitti, 'Italy and the Community After Thirty Years of Experience', *International Spectator*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, April/June 1984, p.76.
52. On the implications of the Maastricht Treaty for Italy and the inadequacies of existing government responses see Philip Daniels, 'L'Italia e il trattato di Maastricht', *op.cit.*, esp. pp.202-6.
53. See, for example, F. Cazzola (ed), *Anatomia del potere DC: enti pubblici e 'centralità' democristiana* (Bari, De Donato, 1979), and R. Orfei, *L'occupazione del potere. I democristiani 1945-1975* (Milan, Longanesi, 1976).
54. For the attempts so far to streamline the administration in as far as dealing with EC matters is concerned see Hine, 'Italy and Europe', *op. cit.*
55. On the suspension of the lira from the EMS and its significance see Philip Daniels, 'L'Italia e il trattato di Maastricht', *op. cit.*, pp.208-13.
56. Space does not permit a detailed treatment of these changes. For an overview see Martin J. Bull and James L. Newell, 'Italian Politics and the 1992 Elections: From "Stable Instability" to Instability and Change', *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 46, No. 2, 1993; and James L. Newell and Martin J. Bull, 'The Italian Referenda of April 1993: Real Change at Last?', *West European Politics*, Vol.16, No.4, October 1993.

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